

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The permanent name one received when returning from the first successful war expedition was received from the father's clan. 33 614 [53]

The moiety had both ceremonial and economic functions. When dividing the buffalo captured in the corral, the inclosure was symbolic of the ceremonial lodge. A line was drawn through the center of the corral extending from the midpoint of the entrance to the opposite side. Those animals falling to the left of the entrance belonged to the WaxikEna and Tamisik, while those of the opposite side belonged to the other moiety. Women of a moiety butchered on their side without regard to clan. Each moiety constructed its half of the ceremonial lodge and would also erect an earth lodge used as a residence when the clan of the owner of the new lodge assisted in putting up goods for the assistance rendered by the opposite moiety. It was believed that the moiety regulated marriage prior to the last smallpox epidemic, but a study of lineages indicated that it had little influence over marriages after 1837. There was a feeling that in former times traditional eagle-trapping sites were divided into moieties, each moiety trapping on its side of the Missouri River. If such division existed, all evidences had disappeared before 1870. There was considerable competition between moieties. When one moiety had more successful war leaders than the other, its members would tease the others and question their bravery. Sons of men of the same moiety teased each other a great deal. Each moiety had a leader who assisted in the division of the buffalo taken in a corral. 616 124 [582]

VILLAGE AND TRIBAL LEADERSHIP

Mandan village and tribal leadership was vested in the hierarchy of bundle-owners or priests who constituted a group of head men whose number varied from time to time depending on the status of the various bundles. From this group two leaders were selected whose war or peacemaking record exceeded that of all others or who, because of other practices, had acquired considerable popularity with the people. The one whose record in warfare was greatest was selected in council to be war chief. A second chief selected was one who had important ceremonial bundles, had given many feasts, and had performed many rites for the general welfare of the village. These were considered the 621 622 623

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

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clan member, he was titular head of the lineage. This authority was nominally vested in the oldest male clan member of the household, and the mother's brother assumed this authority when his own mother's brother died or was too feeble to get around. A clan chief was the most distinguished of the mother's brothers of the households comprising the clan. He had considerable authority over his sister's children. He would scold them and frequently ducked a sister's son in the river. At the same time he assumed the responsibility for their final education and participation in the ceremonies and assisted them in the accumulation of robes and horses for ceremonial purchases. He would urge his sister's sons to fast during the ceremonies and would see that they came out. He would tell his sister's sons that the people of the other clans would tease them if his clan was not well represented. He would take his sister's son with him on war expeditions to teach him success in that enterprise.

The mother's brother began early the training of his sister's sons and daughters in the rites of certain tribal bundles and was assisted by the children's mother. It was believed that some young people would not live to maturity; therefore, it was necessary to begin the instruction early in life so that several would know the rites to prevent the bundles from getting out of the household. Since many tribal bundles, particularly those of the Okipa, descended through the closest related male members of the clan, the mother's brother was an important relative for the perpetuation of the ceremonial office within the household. The rule of inheritance for tribal bundles belonging to the clan was: mother's mother's brother; mother's brother; older brother; sister's male child; sister's daughter's male child. Failure to have a qualified male of the household prepared to perform a specific role in the tribal ceremonies would provoke criticism and lead to eventual relinquishment of the bundle.

Father's sister-brother's child (ptu'minikE-minuha'kE; ptu'minikE-koni'kE).—The Mandan speak of the father's sister as a "little grandmother." She was a respect relative by virtue of her possession of certain rights in her brother's bundles. She helped her mother when a brother's child was born and was invariably the one called upon to name a female child, supplying a name associated with a bundle owned in common with her brother.

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THE MANDAN LIFE-CYCLE

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The old women attended to the child, disposing of the placenta and seeing that the child was properly greased and painted with red ocher under the arms, around the neck, between the legs, and on the top of the head to prevent chafing. It was wrapped in a piece of tanned hide taken from a tepee smoke-hole, since such leather did not harden when wet. The child was placed in the leather cradle shortly after birth. In the winter-time it was wrapped in a tanned buffalo calf hide from which the hair had not been removed. At night the child was taken from the cradle to sleep with the mother. Twice a day the child was taken from the cradle to be cleaned and greased. 844
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On the tenth day a feast was given in the lodge, at which time the child was named. The parents selected the person who was to officiate at the naming ceremony. If the father had already acquired eminence and owned a major tribal bundle, he or his sister named the child; otherwise he called in people of his clan to give the name. The child's brothers and sisters and persons of the child's clan brought robes, and the father would frequently contribute a horse. The naming of a child was one of many occasions during one's lifetime when he would be expected to give goods to others ceremonially. The parents used the medium of the feast and the naming of the child, with an abundant display and disposal of goods, to enhance their social status in the tribe. [573]

Until the child received a name, it was not considered a part of the social unit of the village but of the "baby home" from whence it had come. The child received a name relating to the ceremonial bundle of the person giving the name. Thus such names as Scattercorn, Stands Yellow, Pumpkin Blossom, Corn Piles Up, and Corn Silk belonged to Corn ceremony bundles. Others like Lone Woman, Calf Woman, Game Stone, Sage Woman, Big Feather on Head, and Berdache were taken from the Woman Above bundles. The person giving the name received a horse. Both men and women belonging to the child's father's clan were entitled to attend and were expected to receive some article and to pray for the child's success. Upon receiving a name, the child acquired status in the household and clan. Children dying before the naming ceremony were wrapped in hides and placed in a tree used for that purpose, and there were no rites of "sending the spirits away." Those dying after getting a 553
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766 name were taken to the usual place, where they were placed on a scaffold or interred, according to the parents' preference.

775 The Mandan believed that there was a Baby Hill near Fort Clark, another near the Heart River, and a third near Dickinson which had interiors like an earth lodge, in which an old man cared for them. If a child died before being named, it returned to the Baby Hill. People claimed to have seen baby tracks on the tops and sides of these hills. It was believed that the spirits in the hill near the Heart River came north when the Mandan

[842] came north. If a woman had been married a number of years and was childless, desiring a child, she would go to one of these hills to pray for one. Those wanting a daughter brought girl's clothing and a ball; for a son she brought a small bow and arrow. The Mandan believed in rebirth. Calf Woman's grandfather said he was one who had been reborn. One of her grandchildren had a spot on her hip, and it was thought she was one who had lived before. It was believed that children choose the mother they want and that a child resembling a sibling who had died was the reincarnation of the other child. The Mandan cite numerous instances of culture heroes who selected a mother when desiring to be born into the tribe.

• 553 A girl usually keeps her first name as long as she lives. If she was sick or unlucky, her parents frequently put up a feast to get a new name for her. If she had grown up, her brothers and sisters helped her prepare a renaming feast.

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755 A nursing child frequently developed a sore mouth which interfered with its feeding. In such cases, the parents selected a man of the child's father's clan to cure it by piercing the skin of the ceremonial father's leg and permitting the child to suck of his blood. A payment was made to the man selected by the child's clan brothers and sisters.

TRAINING

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562 The child's training was both economic and ritualistic and differed according to the sex of the child. A girl was trained in lodge management, household arts, gardening, curing of meat, and certain ritualistic practices, receiving her instruction primarily from the women of the lodge. A boy was taught hunting and fishing and went out while still a boy to help bring meat

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431 feasts, he would be respected as an average person, but he would never be able to rise to eminence.

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431 A young man's first participation in a successful war expedition in which he captured horses and "struck" an enemy was an important occasion in his life and involved practically everyone in the village as well the other villages of the tribe. In the division of his horses, he expressed his respect for those who assisted him during the expedition as well as his affection for his friends and relatives in the village. If he captured a number of horses, among which was an animal of peculiar markings which the leader dreamed of and described before it was found, that animal belonged to the leader. The leader would also receive the first horse captured. Strays went to the first one seeing them regardless of the person capturing them. He would give the camp tender one if he had not already received one. Returning to the village, he would give one horse to his oldest married sister, who would, in turn, give it to her husband to use. This was a means of expressing rivalry between brothers-in-law of the same age. If his sisters were not married, the horse would go to his mother. His sisters would not ordinarily get horses on subsequent occasions unless they came out to meet him. He would give one horse to his father and, if there were any additional animals, would keep them for himself. However, if he had also been successful in striking the enemy while capturing these horses, he would not succeed in keeping any of the horses, for, on the succeeding day while the Scalp Dance was celebrated, an old woman of his father's clan would announce that he was to receive a new name to supplant the one he had received as a baby. He was presented with new moccasins, leggings, and shirt, and he paid her as representative of his father's moiety in horses and other property.

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431 A young man's reputation was based on his relatives' generosity which was contingent on the wealth and status of his relatives. Learning that he had struck the enemy and knowing one always received a new name that had belonged to a man of the father's moiety, the brothers and sisters accumulated goods for the occasion. They were assisted by members of their clan and young men of his age-grade society. During the Scalp Dance, singing was interrupted while the mother and her

daughters called the names of old men and women of the opposite moiety who were to receive presents. After the breakdown of the moiety system, the method of naming varied slightly. Formerly, when the father and mother were of different moieties, the name selected was that of a deceased male of distinction who was of the father's moiety, and the presents were given to men and women of the father's moiety. After the breakdown of the moiety system following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, the clan became the exogamous unit. When the father and mother belonged to clans within the same moiety, the name given was that of a distinguished deceased person of the father's clan, but gifts were given to persons of all the clans except the mother's, which was the assisting group.

Within a few days after returning from a successful war expedition, a young man would usually receive an offer of marriage from the parents of some eligible young woman who had not been married before. He could refuse, but few did. An ambitious young man wishing to establish a good reputation both as a war leader and as a person of distinction in the village needed several wives to assist him in the performance of ceremonies and the purchase of important sacred bundles. Those not eligible to inherit important tribal bundles could purchase the right to participate in important ceremonies; or they could pledge to perform the Okipa and, in recognition of their contribution to these tribal rites, received some sacred object associated with the ceremony to carry when on war expeditions. Social recognition of a man's right to be a war leader was given during these ceremonies when some older man of high status in the village announced while receiving goods that the young man would be lucky in "all that he undertook." Without this sanction by the older men, young warriors would have been unwilling to follow him on war expeditions.

The attainment of the rank of war leader marked an important point in a man's training and altered his relations materially with the people of the village. His opinions were solicited relative to problems of village welfare, and he received presents during ceremonial and social occasions in recognition of his position. He was now responsible for those fighting under his leadership and became the teacher of the skills he had acquired under

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PEOPLE ABOVE CEREMONY

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women want the man to pick it up. If he picks it up, but few do, he dresses like a woman. 838

There are three women, one in each of the three places where Sun stops to smoke. They are his sisters. Their names are Sunrise Woman, Above Woman, and Sunset Woman. They are all evil women. Because Sun is my god, I have the right to give children such names as Lone Woman from Sun's mother, Buffalo Woman from the buffalo skull, Digs Turnips or Chokecherry Tree from the Bear. 776 553

Although the woman represented in the Shell bundle is one of the Holy Women, rights in the People Above ceremony did not carry rights in the Shell bundle. 778 776

These Holy Women cause twisted faces and insanity, and people with rights in the bundle can cure them. I have the right also to doctor those thrown from horses or hit with an ash stick. This right comes from the People Above bundle. 533 828

The myth Calf Woman had been taught when buying the bundle was as follows: 773

PEOPLE ABOVE CEREMONY MYTH RELATED
BY CALF WOMAN

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Three people go together in this story; they are Sun, Moon, and Old Woman Above. A long time ago a young woman named Corn Silk wanted to marry Sun. She went to a very old woman, who was a Holy Woman, to get instructions as to where Sun lived and how she might reach him. This Holy Woman said, "Your grandmothers, the mice, are living on the prairies. You can stop at their earth lodges each night on the way."

She started on her journey and came to the home of the lodge mice about sundown. She walked up to the lodge and stood outside. One of the children who came outside saw her and ran inside to tell the mice about it. The old women told the little mouse to invite her in. She asked the woman who was doing the cooking to prepare Corn Silk some ground beans for her supper. The young woman had buffalo fat along; she gave some of it to the mice to use, for their hands were chapped from digging beans. She also had some blue stone beads along, and she gave some of them to the old women. She slept there and the next morning went on.

The lodge mice told her that there was another family of mice a little farther on. She reached them at sunset. They were the white-breasted mice. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads as before. She also gave them fat for their chapped hands. One of the old women asked her where she was going, and she replied that she was on her way to marry Sun. They told her she would find another family of mice a little farther on.

She traveled all day and reached the lodge of the mosquito mice at sunset. One came out and saw her, and she was invited in as before. She had ground beans for supper and gave them blue stone beads and buffalo fat.

They inquired, "Where are you going, my beautiful grandchild?"

She answered, "I am on my way to marry Sun."

She slept until morning and ate her breakfast with the mice. She traveled all day and reached the home of the pocket gophers at sunset. They saw her,

ten horses, and fastens them to the hut of the young woman, who gives them to her father. The latter then takes other horses, and if he has them not himself, his relations assist him, and these horses are fastened, in return, to the hut of the intended son-in-law. In such a case an estimate is previously made of the number of horses possessed by the woman's relations, for all presents are returned in equal number. The bride next boils some maize, and daily carries a kettle or dish filled with it to the hut of the bridegroom. After some time has elapsed, the young man repairs to the hut of his bride, where he passes the night with her, and the marriage is considered as complete. The young couple often continue to reside in the hut of the father-in-law, but they more frequently build a new hut for themselves; sometimes, however, they afterwards separate. The father-in-law is, subsequently, the principal person in the hut; everything depends on him, and is done on his account, and for him; if game is killed, the flesh is first presented to him, &c. There are often many children in these Indian families; some had as many as ten; yet, on the whole, the Indians have not so many children as the Whites, doubtless because they keep them longer at the breast. They are extremely fond of them, but the children are often weak and sickly, in consequence, it is supposed, of the hard labour which the women have to perform. I was universally assured, that the new-born children are of a reddish colour. The births are, in general, extremely easy, and the mother bathes in the river immediately afterwards, even if it is frozen; in ten days the child is considered as safe, having got over the most dangerous period. A person is paid to give it the name chosen by the parents and relations. The child is held up, then turned to all sides of the heavens, in the direction of the course of the sun, and its name proclaimed. They have cradles for their infants, consisting of a leather bag, which is suspended by a strap to a cross beam in the hut. These cradles of the Mandans are not so elegant and beautifully worked as those which we saw among the Sioux and Assiniboins. The children of these Indians are subject to no kind of discipline whatever; they may do and say whatever they please, and nobody finds fault with them. Everything is done to excite a spirit of independence and self-will in the boys; if the mother speaks to one of them, he will very likely slap her face, or kick her, nay, sometimes he will do the same to his father, who says, coolly, bowing his head, this boy will one day become a famous warrior. The men sometimes treat their wives very brutally; and it has not unfrequently happened, that a woman, after such treatment, has left the hut and hanged herself on a tree. This lately happened in the case of an aged woman, whose grown-up son had ill-treated her. She was missed, and was afterwards found suspended from a tree. The women have nothing to indemnify them for their incessant and laborious work, not even good clothing, for this right of the fair sex in Europe is claimed among the Indians by the men. It is singular that these women, who are condemned constantly to work like slaves, refuse to do any work whatever if they marry a white man, and, the Whites being entirely in the power of the Indians, and the relations of their wives, they are obliged to submit to this. Sisters have great

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